

from *Carsulae* being extracted from an obscure book).

On the other hand, there are surely also people who will be somewhat disappointed. The buyer of a book like this should, I think, have the right to expect that the book is as up-to-date as possible. But on p. 3 we are told that this one – published in 1992 – was "achevé en janvier 1985". Accordingly one misses quite a few representative Julio-Claudian knights known from documents published in the later 1980's (e.g. AE 1985, 328; 1986, 154. 190; 1988, 502; 1989, 495 – an inscription published by the author herself in 1989), references to the PIR volume of 1987, to *Inscr. It. X 5*, and to other relevant studies (e.g. R. Syme, CQ 1986, 274ff. on "M. Ambibulus" [no. 123], M. Buonocore, 10. MGR [1986] 257 on on the tribe of no. 227). I should think that in 1992, when it is quite possible to update a book only a couple of months in advance of its publication, the fact the we are offered a book which is in fact seven years old should have had some explanation. In addition, it is also somewhat unpleasant to find out that even work earlier than 1985 is not referred to systematically. For instance, "Q. Stertinus" (p. 397) had been disposed of already in 1922 (cf. V. Nutton, ANRW II 37, 1 [1993] 63 n. 63), Aclutius Gallus' (no. 19) *nomen* was thought suspect by H. Devijver and E. Van't Dack in *Anc. Soc.* 1982/83, 167ff. And there is no trace of *Suppl. It. 2* (1983), relevant for nos. 16, 320, and 448.

Perhaps inevitably there are also quite a few simple mistakes (the citation of CIL X 6254 on p. 301 struck me as being particularly unsatisfactory), but these – and the remarks made above – weighed against the fact that most of what we are being offered is of solid quality, should in no case obscure the obvious fact that we are dealing with an extreme useful and welcome book, for which all those dealing with Roman society of the early empire will be more than grateful.

*Olli Salomies*

GIOVANNI FORNI: *Esercito e marina di Roma antica. Raccolta di contributi*. *Mavors Roman Army Researches V*, ed. M. P. Speidel. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. 455 p.

The fifth volume in the commendable *Mavors* series, edited by M.P. Speidel, contains 16 papers on the Roman army by the late Giovanni Forni. Regrettably, Forni did not live to witness the publication of this collection. Forni's untimely death, in itself a sad event for the scholarly world, unfortunately also left something to be desired in the completion of some aspects of the book. Thus, for example, the foreword claims that the book contains 12 published papers from the years 1958-1987. The previously published papers are in fact 14, although only 13 of them can be found listed at the back of the

book, where the original places of publication are given ("Curiosità legionarie e *origo* di Massimino il Trace" on pp. 206-212 appeared originally in *Epigraphica* 52, 1990 [1991], 33-40).

Giovanni Forni, born in 1921, became famous for his book *Il reclutamento dei legionari da Augusto a Diocleziano* (1953). This analysis of imperial recruitment policy, based on a meticulous investigation of individual legionaries from three centuries, presented overall surveys of the soldiers' home, social status, and duration of service, as well as of promotion patterns. It was later updated twice by Forni himself. The first update was published twenty years later in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.1 (1974), and opens the book here under review. The second update, called "Supplemento II", is one of the two original contributions in this volume. In concert with the second previously unpublished work here, "Origines dei legionari (ordinate per legione)", this means some 80 new pages of text on a subject which Forni knew as perhaps no other person, and where he made his greatest and most lasting impact.

There is no doubt that the reprint of Forni's first Supplement and the publication of a second Supplement and a partial Synthesis is very welcome indeed. Still, a new monograph on the topic would make things much easier for students of the Roman army. Also, there is one aspect upon which Forni did not touch, but which was studied by J.C. Mann in his *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement* (1983), namely the fate of the veterans after their discharge. As Forni himself says in his "Suppl. II" (p. 66): "Con modestia, J. Mann considera la sua opera complementare nei confronti dei miei contributi. In effetti ... i convincimenti di entrambi sui lineamenti e sulle conclusioni generali sono consonanti o assai vicini. Vorrei che si fosse composto insieme un solo volume."

As it is, Forni unfortunately was unable to rewrite more than a small part of his original work. For most aspects, scholars will need the original *Reclutamento* beside the updates in this book. The only part of the *Reclutamento* which has been definitely superseded is the Appendix C "Origines dei legionari (ordinate per legione)" (Recl., 211-237). A chapter by the same title is published here on pp. 116-141. As can be seen even from a cursory glance, the number of legionaries has grown considerably and, according to my count, reaches almost 2,200 individuals. To this total, almost 900 soldiers of the *legio III Augusta* from the North African provinces must be added. Information about these soldiers is best looked up in Y. Le Bohec's *Le troisième légion Auguste* (1989).

That finding precise information about the African soldiers enlisted in the local North African legion should be quite cumbersome is one of the few points of criticism that need to be made. On p. 123, when dealing with the soldiers of the *III Augusta* from Africa, Numidia and Mauretania (from Hadrian to the late third century), Forni instead of giving their numbers and home towns writes, echoing the statement on the corresponding

spot in the *Reclutamento* (221): "Quasi tutti i dati raccolti sotto le qui menzionate provincie nelle tabelle IV [belong here]". The reader has to look up pages 204ff. in the *Reclutamento*, check the relevant additions by Forni in ANRW II.1, and finally turn to Tabella IV in the "Suppl. II" in this volume (pp. 106-108). There the reader faces a further problem. A major new contribution to our knowledge of soldiers from the second and third centuries was presented when Y. Le Bohec published several lists from Timgad and Lambaesis giving some 200 new soldiers in *Antiquites Africaines* 25 (1989) 191-226. References to these new discoveries are throughout given by Forni as "Le Bohec, diss. ined.". Even if Forni himself was unable to bring these numerous references up to date, users of this book would have benefited if it had been done before seeing the book through the press. As things turned out, many of Forni's references are incorrect. (For details, see my "Berichtigungsliste" elsewhere in this journal.)

Forni was an expert epigrapher and worked largely from inscriptional evidence. Nevertheless, one of the features of his work that strikes the reviewer is the fact that he did not confine himself to minor comments on military matters originating in the exegesis of a few inscriptions. The partition of his papers in four sections, the first on "Legionary recruitment" followed by "Limes e provincie", "Classis Ravennas" and "Diplomi militari", is logical but should not obscure the fact that another common denominator may also be found in some cases.

Forni presents something approaching historical narrative in his analyses of the Roman military occupation of several provinces, Spain, Thrace, and Dacia, with a glance at another mountainous zone that created similar problems for the Romans: Wales. Admittedly, some of these studies appeared some time ago, and although brief updates have been added, the upsurge in local studies of the European provinces of the Empire has produced many recent syntheses, the results of which clearly could not be assimilated here. But Forni's comparative outlook is interesting, and sometimes he is clearly in the right despite later criticism, as when upholding, against G. Michailov, that there never was a fortified defence line on the Haemus mountain range in Thrace (p. 297).

Forni's expertise in matters relating to Roman conquest, occupation and border defences originated in his work on the concept of *limes*. The second section entitled "Limes e province" opens with the first three chapters of Forni's "Limes" article for De Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico*, published in 1959. The fourth chapter of over 200 pages, dealing with the border zones of the European provinces (DE IV, 1094-1307), is not reproduced here, surely a sensible decision. There never was a fifth chapter, nor any conclusions (despite Forni on p. 1082 = p. 221 here). There is no update, but the theme is pursued in two later articles, "Denominazioni proprie e improprie dei *limites* delle provincie" (1974) and "*Limes*: nozioni e nomenclature" (1987). The two latter papers partly underline and summarize the points that Forni made in his first work, while adding

material from Late Antiquity.

Some readers may be puzzled to find not even a reference to the recent paper "The Meaning of the Terms *Limes* and *Limitanei*", JRS 78 (1988) 125-147 by Prof. Benjamin Isaac. Nevertheless, the reprinting of Forni's "*Limes*" is one of the reasons why the editors of this volume deserve gratitude. It would appear that Forni in 1959 said very much of what Isaac had to say on *limes* in 1988 ("the common translation of the term as 'defended border' is incorrect for every period", Isaac p. 125; cf. summary on p. 146), but Forni's contribution contains much more besides.

Although Forni wrote for the Dizionario Epigrafico, he included much literary evidence as well. While initially stating that *limes* relating to military matters is essentially untranslatable (p. 215), Forni discerned nine different meanings for *limes* in the Roman world, of which three have a bearing on the question of the border zones of the Empire: f) "significato di 'strada'"; g) "strada sprovvista [= lacking!] di fortificazioni, che, aperta attraverso zone selvose o costruita su aggeri in zone paludose di territori ostili, consentisse il passaggio agli eserciti ..."; h) "'frontiera fortificata e stesa a difesa dell'impero romano' in senso molto lato e per niente affatto corrispondente all'idea moderna di confine come linea ideale contrassegnata da cippi o altro" (p. 218f.). Isaac gave three meanings to *limes*: A. Military Road; B. Boundary (denying that it can be a military technical term, or that it could indicate permanent defensive structures or formal military and administrative organization, before the 4th century anyway); C. Border District (fourth century and later).

It cannot be denied that Forni in his conclusions, far from stating that *limes* indicates an impenetrable line of defence (or even two such lines) of the Empire, as Isaac claims for the *communis opinio* (but he is not very familiar with Forni's work, which is cited only thrice, not always accurately, in notes 1, 13, and 40), mostly anticipate those by Isaac, cf. his definition of *limes* on p. 1086 (= p. 225 here): "*Come una strada o una rete di strade vigilate da truppe che si muovono su di esse e per loro mezzo assicurano il collegamento fra le diverse unità, si definisce il limes dell'impero nella sua essenza*". This definition is followed by the following admonition: "*Gli altri elementi che vi si aggiungono, possono considerarsi come integranti o accessori; ma in nessun caso la loro mancanza può essere invocata per negare l'esistenza del limes*". Forni denies those "preconcetti tuttora perduranti" which claim that "accessory elements" such as *vallum*, *fossatum*, *castra* or the like are necessary elements of a *limes*.

While in the interpretation of some texts Isaac might be more convincing (e.g. Tac. Germ. 29,4 on p. 127), Forni's judgement and presentation of the whole matter is often to be preferred (although Isaac presents a number of late antique sources not to be found in any of Forni's papers).

It must suffice merely to hint at some other useful papers in this collection. One

such is Forni's edition of that very rare military monument from Nicopolis in Egypt, the honorary basis to the emperor Pius erected by veterans of the *leg. II Traiana* in A.D. 157. Another is his discussion of the social status of the fleet soldiers, including the question of the *cives Latini* (but here one misses a more thorough update).

All in all, a worthy contribution to the Mavors series on Roman Army Research.

*Christer Bruun*

ANDRÁS MÓCSY: *Pannonien und das römische Heer*. Mavors Roman Army Researches VII, ed. M.P. Speidel. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. 271 S. DEM 120.

András Mócsy is one of the many Hungarians who have made an impact on classical studies. His main field of work was the social history of Pannonia, witness *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen* (1959), *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (Budapest-Amsterdam 1970), followed by *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London 1974), cf. also his "Pannonia" in *RE S IX* (1962) 516-776. Matters relating to the Roman army were an integral part of these investigations, the more so since the economic and social impact of the army was especially important in a province with no previous urban structure such as Pannonia.

Mócsy's contribution in the Mavors series is the slimmest so far with less than 300 pages, and, in contrast to previous writers, his interests are confined to a specific geographical area. The title mentions Pannonia, but in actual practice his studies cover roughly the Danube area and the Balkans. The 19 papers published here were chosen by the author himself (who died in 1987) and are more or less evenly spaced over the period 1953-1986. Most of the papers have been provided with some comments relating to later research.

The first of five chapter headlines under which the papers are distributed is called "Grenzprovinzen". Three papers assembled here discuss economic and social questions relating to Rome's Danubian border. The financial costs of further expansion and occupation dictated that, with the exception of Dacia, Rome's armies did not advance further after Augustus (rumours about plans of the emperor Marcus to establish new provinces are unfounded).

In chapter 2 ("Zur Heeresgeschichte Pannoniens"), the most noteworthy contribution analyzes the activity of third-century emperors in Pannonia.

In chapter 3 ("Militärland und Heeresverpflegung"), a central theme, of interest for our general understanding of the nature of the Roman conquest and occupation, concerns the ownership of land surrounding the military camps (both legionary and